

# THE CLOWN IN GREEK LITERATURE AFTER ARISTOPHANES

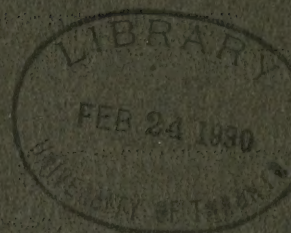
A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY  
IN JUNE 1911  
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
(DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS)

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BY  
CHARLES HENRY HAILE

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PRINCETON  
1913







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## PREFACE.

I was led to take up the subject of the Clown in classical literature through my interest in the characters of comedy. In the course of my preliminary studies I was impressed with the idea that the character of the Clown, which Dr. Süss has ably described for the period of the old comedy, was really never lost from Greek and Roman comedy; and I thought that I found traces of it in still other branches of classical literature. This is the thesis I have endeavored to establish.


In preparing this study for the printer I have been somewhat hampered by my remoteness from a large library. Most of the study was already in type when the second edition of Leo's *Plautinische Forschungen* appeared; I have therefore left the references to the first edition unchanged.

I wish to express my obligations to Professor John A. Scott, of Northwestern University, and to Professor Edward Capps and his colleagues of Princeton University.

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## NOTE ON THE WORD *βωμολόχος*.

The Greek term for our word clown is *βωμολόχος*. This word is used by Dr. Süss in naming the clown of Aristophanes, and the words *βωμολόχος* and *βωμολοχία*, buffoonery, occur frequently in this dissertation.

The English word 'clown,' as everybody knows, means a country boor, and its meaning of buffoon is a later development. The Greek word for clown, i. e., clodhopper, is *ἄγροικος*, and never implies buffoonery; the original meaning of *βωμολόχος* itself is not quite clear. The etymology given by Greek lexicographers, *βωμός* + *λοχᾶν*, one who lies in wait about an altar, seems self-apparent and inevitable. Plautus understood it thus, as we see by Scepharnio's address to Plesidippus, Rud. 140:

Heus tu, qui fana ventris causa circumis—

which, as Leo notes, is a translation of *βωμολόχος*.<sup>1</sup> The only conceivable reason why a person should loiter by an altar is that given by Plautus's translation: the desire of procuring some of the sacrificial meats. He might attain his object by stealing the meat, and in this case *βωμολόχος* would naturally develop into a synonym for rascal; and it is in fact so defined, Etym. Gud., p. 118, 6: *βωμολόχος, ιερόσυλος, παρὰ τὸ λοχᾶν εἰς τοὺς βωμούς, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐνεδρεῦεν*. Aristophanes uses the term more than once in this sense. Cf. Nub. 909 f.:

Δι. καταπύγων εἰ καναίσχυντος.

'Αδ. ῥόδα μ' εἴρηκας. Δι. καὶ βωμολόχος.

'Αδ. κρίνεσι στεφανοῖς. Δι. καὶ πατραλοίας.

Here, used with *καταπύγων* and other epithets, it evidently denotes a blackguard. Cf. also Ran. 1520 f.:

ὁ πανούργος ἀνὴρ

καὶ ψευδολόγος καὶ βωμολόχος.

Supposing it, then, to have become a synonym for rascal, it might have been applied to a reckless person, who overstepped the bounds of decency in his jesting, a *βδελυρός*, and then used to denote any one who was willing to descend to buffoonery.

<sup>1</sup> Plaut. Forsch, p. 93. The etymology first appears in Pherecrates' *Tyrannis*, 141 K.

Again, the *βωμολόχος* might have obtained his share of the feast by wheedling it out of the sacrificers, and he may have acted the buffoon for their amusement and have been a clown from the start. Such was the original *βωμολόχος* according to Harpocration: *κυρίως ἐλέγοντο βωμολόχοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς βωμοὺς καθίζοντες καὶ μετὰ κολακείας προσαιτοῦντες*, and Suidas: *ὁ περὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς λοχῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι παρὰ τῶν θύοντων· μεταφορικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ παραπλησίως τούτῳ ὠφελείας ἔνεκά τινος κολακεύων*. But Suidas gives the other conception also, with some modification: *τινὲς δὲ καὶ συκοφάντην, καὶ βωμολόχος ὁ κακοῦργος, ἀσεβής, παρὰ τοὺς λοχῶντας τὰ ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐπιτιθέμενα θύματα ἢ τοὺς θύοντας, ἵνα αἰτήσαντες λάβωσί τι*. If the *βωμολόχος* was a flatterer, then the parasite, who is one of the chief clowns of the new comedy, has a hereditary right to this title, for it was first applied to one of his tribe. Another definition of Etym. Gud. confirms this one of Suidas. Aristophanes seems to use the word in the sense of flatterer (Eq. 1358): *βωμολόχος συνήγορος*—and Ran. 1085 f.: *βωμολόχων δημοπιθήκων ἐξαπατώντων τὸν δῆμον αἰεί*.

By the fourth century the term has come to mean simply buffoon, and we do not find either of the two possible original meanings implied in it. Cf. Plato Rep. 10 c 606: *ὁ γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτὸν κατεῖχες ἐν παντὶ βουλούμενον γελοιοποιεῖν, φοβούμενος δόξαν βωμολοχίας*. Indeed, the idea of flattery might easily have been read into the word by the lexicographers from Aristotle's phrase, *αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα*, though Aristotle is here merely distinguishing between the *εἴρων*, who enjoys his humor by himself, and the *βωμολόχος*, who makes jests for others' amusement (Rhet. 3, 18, 1419 b 8): *ἔστι δ' ἡ εἴρωνεία τῆς βωμολοχίας ἐλευθεριώτερον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα ποιεῖ τὸ γελοῖον, ὁ δὲ βωμολόχος ἑτέρου*. Aristotle defines the term for us (Eth. 2, 7, 1108 a 24): *ἡ δ' (ἐν παιδίᾳ) ὑπερβολὴ βωμολοχία, καὶ ὁ ἔχων αὐτὴν βωμολόχος*.

Once in later literature the word *βωμολόχος* is connected with *κόλαξ*, by Lucian (De Merc. Cond. 24): *κόλαξιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀγοραίοις καὶ βωμολόχοις*. But it may mean simply buffoon here. The instances in Aristophanes, also, where *βωμολόχος* may be interpreted as flatterer, are not so convincing as those where it evidently means rascal. So the conjecture that the original *βωμολόχος* was a parasite who acted the clown for the sake of a share of the sacrifice, though tempting, does not seem to be satisfactorily confirmed by literary evidence.

## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTORY.

Wilhelm Süss has described<sup>1</sup> for us the earliest extant type of clown, the *βωμολόχος* of the old comedy of Aristophanes. The clown, as Süss describes this rôle, is a distinct and separate character, differing not in degree, but in kind, from the other characters (p. 56):

Est autem pulcinella quasi incarnatio risus comici ipsius, persona denique praecipue ridicula, quod cave ne ita nos putes intellegere, quasi haec persona gradu tantum, ut dici solet, non sua ipsius natura a ceteris distet. Immo potius partes illius toto genere ab omnibus aliis diversae sic fere circumscribantur:

Pulcinella ab argumento ipso in modum chori quasi seiunctus aut otiosa adstat tertia persona mere ridicula aut verbis tantum alterum quendam plerumque alazonem similisve generis hominem varia seu agentem seu loquentem interrumpit itaque ex illius luce fumum trahit, neque tamen et hic minus otiosa, rem bene si perspicis.

The plays of Aristophanes may be divided into three classes,<sup>2</sup> according to the different ways of handling the element of *βωμολοχία*:

I. In the most primitive type, the clown is introduced at the beginning, gives the situation in a prologue, and in the latter part of the play, through a series of disconnected scenes, encounters various characters whom he ridicules, beats and drives off the stage. In this class belong the *Acharnians* and the *Clouds*. The other comedies of Aristophanes show, almost all of them, their derivation from this class, in that they introduce, in the second part, various characters who are driven off in ridicule by the chief personage. The *βωμολόχος* alone gives any semblance of unity to the disconnected scenes that form the latter part of a play like the *Acharnians*, where the plot is very slight and is brought to a close long before the end of the play.

<sup>1</sup> De personarum antiquae comoediae Atticae usu atque origine (Bonn, 1905), part IV, pp. 55-101: "Symbola ad originem Pulchinellae graeci cognoscendam."

<sup>2</sup> Süss's résumé, pp. 100 f.



2. In a second type of comedy two slaves are introduced at the beginning, one of them merely a protatic character, the other giving the situation in the prologue, and in the first part of the play having only a slight connection with the action, playing the clown's rôle. In the latter part of the play another and more prominent character takes the clown's part, while the slave who formerly had the rôle is dropped from the action. To this species belong the *Knights*, the *Wasps* and the *Peace*.

3. A third type of play unites the two preceding, introducing at the beginning a main character with a companion. Thus composed, the play has more unity; the companion gives the situation in a prologue, and plays the clown's rôle in the first part of the play; in the latter part the main character is the *βωμολόχος*, his companion dropping out. So in the *Birds*: the main character, Peithetaerus, comes in accompanied by his friend Euelpides, who speaks the prologue (ll. 30 ff.) and plays the clown in the first part of the play. Then, when Peithetaerus is about to take up this rôle, and to play off the various impostors that appear in a series of scenes in the latter part of the play, an excuse is found to send Euelpides off the stage (ll. 837 ff.):

Πει. ἄγε νυν σὺ μὲν βάδιζε πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα  
 κτλ.

The following summary may be made of the properties of the clown in the old comedy, the comedy of Aristophanes, as described by Süss:

1. He is a separate and distinct character, having no part in the action, and indeed no part whatever except that of clown.
2. He may have played some other part earlier in the play, or again he may not.
3. He sometimes lays aside his proper character and assumes the rôle of comic chorus, speaking as the poet's mouthpiece. So, for example, Dicaeopolis, *Ach.* 366-384, 496-556, addresses the audience for the poet.
4. His *βωμολοχία* may be delivered in two ways: either as the comments of a third party, to whom no attention is paid, on the conversation of others, e. g., Dicaeopolis in the first part of the *Acharnians*; or as the ironical or stupid mockery of an *ἀλαζών* or other similar character with whom he is conversing, e. g., Strepsiades in his conversation with Socrates, in the *Clouds*.

Whether the clown is as stupid as he appears in these scenes, or whether he is an *εἴρων* with a mask of stupidity, is his own secret.

5. He is of three types: an *ἄγροικος*, as Dicaeopolis in the *Acharnians* and Philocleon in the *Wasps*; a slave, as "Demosthenes" in the exposition of the *Knights*; or a companion of the leading character, as Euelpides in the *Birds*.

6. His humor is drawn from the remarks of other characters, on which he comments; and may be classified as:

a) Unexpected turns, endings *καθ' ὑπόνοιαν*. Cf. *Peithetaerus*, *Av.* 877:

δέσποινα Κυβέλλη, στρουῖθε, μήτηρ Κλεοκρίτου.

b) Puns: Calonice, *Lys.* 67 f.:

Λυ. Ἀναγυρουντόθεν. Κα. νῆ τὸν Δία.

ὁ γοῦν ἀνάγυρός μοι κεκινήσθαι δοκεῖ.

c) Anecdotes irrelevant or indecent, purporting to illustrate the matter under discussion. So, when *Lysistrata* remarks that the *Acharnian* women have not arrived, Calonice adds (*ll.* 63 ff.):

ἡ γοῦν Θεογένους

ὥς δεῦρ' ἰούσα θοῦκάταιον ἤρετο.

d) The literal and wrong acceptance of words. Cf. *Nub.* 639 ff., where *Strepsiades* confuses 'metres' with 'measures', pretending to mistake the meaning *Socrates* intends in *μέτρον* (*ll.* 644 f.):

περίδου νυν ἐμοί,

εἰ μὴ τετράμετρον ἐστὶν ἡμικτέον.

e) Indecent turns to others' speeches. *Dicaeopolis*, *Ach.* 157 f.:

ποίων Ὀδομάντων; εἰπέ μοι τουτὶ τί ἦν;

τίς τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὸ πέος ἀποτεθρίακεν;

f) Parodies of other speakers, in which the clown loves to ridicule their sublime discourse by interpolating remarks on such vulgar themes as eating, drinking and less reputable enjoyments. E. g., *Dicaeopolis*'s mockery of *Lamachus* at the close of the *Acharnians*.

g) At the close of the play the clown often regales himself at a banquet with one or more mistresses or his bride. So *Dicaeopolis*

in the Acharnians, Trygaeus in the Peace, Demus in the Knights, Peithetaerus in the Birds, Philocleon in the Wasps.

Let us add to this, that as the clown takes the place of the comic chorus, and addresses the audience for the poet, so, by the fact that he comments on the action as a third person unconnected with it, he also takes the place of the chorus in tragedy, for that was one of its functions. The comments of the two naturally differ as widely as the two species of drama to which they belong.

The character of *βωμολόχος*, says Süss,<sup>3</sup> does not appear after Aristophanes, or at least there are only scanty traces of it:

Ultra Plutum progredi non licet, cum ex fragmentis quavis alia, bomolochi certe personam non eruere possis. Nihilominus his ipsis temporibus putanda est persona bomolochi, in Aristophaneis fabulis constantissima certe, in attica comoedia evanuisse, ita ut in palliata Romana, qua nobis indoles novae, quae vocatur, comoediae graecae significatur, tales partes aut omnino non aut exiguis reliquiis servatae inveniantur.

*βωμολοχία*, however, does continue in Greek literature after Aristophanes, and the character of the clown in Roman comedy is so prominent, and his buffoonery resembles so much that of the clown of Aristophanes, that he should hardly be dismissed with such an expression as *exiguus reliquiis*. Therefore, in order to discover whether the clown continued to exist in later literature, let us look for him in the most extensive monuments of later comedy that are left to us, the Latin adaptations of Plautus and Terence.

<sup>3</sup> P. 95.



## CHAPTER II.

### THE CLOWN IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.<sup>1a</sup>

The clown could not dominate the new comedy as he did the plays of the earlier stage, with their more boisterous mirth. But it is interesting to note what a large place this figure holds in many plays. Ergasilus, for instance, opens the *Captivi* with his monologue, and is a leading character throughout, yet has no part in the action except to tell Hegio of the return of his son with Philocrates and Stalagmus. Stasimus, in the *Trinummus*, is given many lines, but has no part in the action except to inform Callicles that Lesbonicus has betrothed his sister to Lysiteles without a dowry. Peniculus, in the *Menaechmi*, informs his patron's wife of the misdoings of her husband; the rest of his lines are merely for the entertainment of the audience. Gelasimus, in the *Stichus*, has no part whatever except that of buffoon. Palinurus appears in the exposition of the *Curculio*, giving a chance for his master to acquaint the audience with the situation; his own lines are nearly all *βωμολοχία*.

A few clowns, then, are almost entirely isolated from the plot, like the clown in the old comedy. Most of the *βωμολόχοι* of the new comedy, however, are characters who have some other part in the play, but lay aside their proper rôles for the time being and devote themselves to buffoonery. Such a character is *Curculio*, who has an important share in the plot, yet acts the clown as really as do his brother parasites *Ergasilus* and *Peniculus*.

Long passages of Plautus's plays are given up to pure buffoonery, as in the *Asinaria*, where Libanus and Leonida entertain the audience for 112 lines by their banter (ll. 267-378), and again for 46 lines in ll. 545-590. Paegnium and Sophoclidisca perform the same service in the *Persa* (ll. 203-250), and the close of the *Stichus* is occupied entirely by the festivities of *Stichus* and his friends. These scenes of pure *βωμολοχία* deviate somewhat from the manner of Aristophanes, who did not give the clown the whole stage to himself except in some of his festive scenes at the close of plays.

The forms of buffoonery found in the old comedy reappear, many of them, in Plautus and Terence. We often find our clown

<sup>1a</sup> Leo's lines and text are followed for Plautus, and the Oxford edition for Terence.

commenting on the conversation of others, as an otiose and frequently unnoticed third person. In the *Asinaria*, Libanus and Leonida each offer an ironical remark on the love-scene between Argyrippus and Philaenium, they appearing together as a double clown (ll. 598 ff.):

Lib. Audin hunc opera ut largus est nocturna? nunc enim esse negotiosum interdus videlicet Solonem,  
leges ut conscribat, quibus se populus teneat. gerrae!  
qui sese parere apparent huius legibus, profecto  
numquam bonae frugi sient, dies noctesque potent.  
Leon. Ne iste hercle ab ista non pedem discedat, si licessit,  
qui nunc festinat atque ab hac minatur sese abire.<sup>1</sup>

As in the old comedy, these 'asides' sometimes change into open interruptions of the conversation, for which the clown may be rebuked, as Dicaeopolis is rebuked in the *Acharnians*. Thus Stasimus, in the *Trinummus*, interrupts the conversation of Lesbonicus and Philto at l. 512:

Nostramne, ere, vis nutricem, quae nos educat,  
abalienare a nobis? cave sis feceris.  
quid edemus nosmet postea? Lesb. Etiam tu taces?

His anxiety about 'quid edemus' is characteristic.<sup>2</sup>

Often the clown's comment is not on the conversation of two persons, but on the monologue of one, or on a person approaching in silence. Thus Mercury, when Sosia confesses himself a rascal for not returning thanks to the gods for a safe return, remarks (*Amph.* 185):

Facit ille quod volgo haud solent, ut quid se sit dignum sciat.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also: Mercury in *Amph.* 506 f., 510 f., 526, 541; Sosia, *ibid.* 679 f., 801, 805; parasite in *Asin.* 910; Tyndarus in *Capt.* 266 ff., 274 ff.; Chalinus in *Cas.* 494 ff.; Palinurus in *Curc.* 186 ff.; Epidicus in *Epid.* 124 f.; Peniculus in *Men.* 203 ff.; Milphio in *Poen.* 243 f., 271 ff.; Collybiscus, *ibid.* 645, 647 ff., 653 f., 656; Pseudolus in *Pseud.* 974; Gripus in *Rud.* 1161 ff.; Stasimus in *Trin.* 495 f., 501 ff.; Geta in *Phorm.* 259, 278.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Stasimus again in *Trin.* 454 ff., 463 ff., 474 ff., 705 ff.; Mercury in *Amph.* 515 ff., 538; Sosia, *ibid.* 696 f., 802 f., 843; Lampadio in *Cist.* 749 ff., 757 f.; Curculio in *Curc.* 658 ff.; Peniculus in *Men.* 182, 193 ff.; Tranio in *Most.* 1130 ff.; Milphio in *Poen.* 345 ff. Sceparnio in *Rud.* 122 f.; Pseudolus in *Pseud.* 422 ff., 435, 443 f., 453 f., 702.

<sup>3</sup> Other examples: Mercury, *ibid.* 176 ff., 248 ff., 263 ff., 289 f.; Sosia, *ibid.* 313 f., 323 ff.; Libanus in *Asin.* 272 ff., 285; Hegio in *Capt.* 805 f., 823 f.; Palinurus in *Curc.* 111 f., 132, 160 f.; Peniculus in *Men.* 125 f.; Tranio, *ibid.* 438 f., 700 f., 711 ff., 1071 ff.; Collybiscus in *Poen.* 612; Milphio, *ibid.* 839 f., 845 f., 849 f., 975 ff.; Labrax in *Rud.* 821 ff.; Crocotium in *Stich.* 217; Stasimus in *Trin.* 433 f.; Charmides, *ibid.* 851 f., 1015 f., 1027 ff.; Parmeno in *Eun.* 265, 269 f.

Sometimes a person who is about to cheat or delude another makes an 'aside' before saluting his intended victim. Thus, in the *Bacchides*, Chrysalus remarks on Nicobulus, his master, who is approaching (ll. 239 ff.):

Extexam ego illum pulchre iam, si di volunt.  
haud dormitandumst; opus est chryso Chrysalo.  
adibo hunc, quem quidem ego hodie faciam hic arietem  
Phrxi, itaque tondebo auro usque ad vivam cutem.<sup>4</sup>

There are a few instances of irony at the expense of another who is unconscious of the identity of the speaker. Cf. Mercury's speech to Sosia (*Amph.* 392):

Sos. Quid si falles? Merc. Tum Mercurius Sosiae iratus siet.<sup>5</sup>

Some jests take a form that reminds one of minstrel show humor; i. e., the clown makes a statement that elicits a question from his interlocutor, the answer thereto containing the joke. Peniculus, as a parasite and professional jester, would naturally use this form of wit (*Men.* 160 f.):

Pen. Eu edepol ne tu, ut ego opinor, esses agitator probus.  
Men. Quidum? Pen. Ne te uxor sequatur, respectas identidem.<sup>6</sup>

In Aristophanes a prominent function of the clown was that of playing off an *ἀλαζών* or similar character. In the new comedy a large share of his humor consists in playing off or bantering others, though these are not all *ἀλαζόνες* by any means. In the *Amphitruo*, ll. 1021 ff., Mercury mocks the indignant Amphitruo, who takes the god for his own servant. In the *Bacchides*, ll. 1121 ff., the two sisters mock the irascible old men, whom they call "sheep," making sarcastic remarks about their value as live-stock, and finally roping them in. Lampadio banters Halisca, whose treasure he has found (*Cist.* 735 ff.):

Est quidem homo, qui illam ait se scire ubi sit.

Etc.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Chrysalus, *ibid.* 792 f., 795 ff., 987 f., 1053 ff., 1067 f.; Epidicus in *Epid.* 181 ff., 193 ff.; Charmides in *Trin.* 89 f.

<sup>5</sup> Other examples: Jupiter, *ibid.* 933 f., 983; Charmides in *Trin.* 1068.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also: Lampadio in *Cist.* 728 ff.; Phaniscus in *Most.* 890 f.; Milphio in *Poen.* 159 ff., 410 ff.; Lycus, *ibid.* 759 f.; Syncerastus, *ibid.* 854 f., 858 ff., 862 f.; Pseudolus in *Pseud.* 35 f.; Charmides in *Rud.* 521 f.; Labrax, *ibid.* 535 f.; Gripus, *ibid.* 1114 ff.; Epignomus in *Stich.* 593 ff.



In the *Curculio*, *Palinurus* derides the invalid procurer (ll. 239 ff.):

Pal. Tum te igitur morbus agitat hepatarius.

Capp. Facile est miserum inridere. Pal. Quin tu aliquot dies perdura, dum intestina exputescunt tibi, nunc dum salsura sat bonast: si id feceris, venire poteris intestinis vilis.

And in the same play, the banker *Lycus* jeers at the parasite's lost eye (ll. 392 ff.):

Unocule, salve. Curc. Quaeso, deridesne me?

Lyc. De Coclitum prosapia te esse arbitror.<sup>7</sup>

Etc.

As *Dicaeopolis*, in the *Acharnians*, interprets *Pseudartabas's* gibberish, so *Milphio* makes a ridiculous translation of *Hanno's* Carthaginian, based on the similarity of the Carthaginian words to the Latin (*Poen.* 996 ff.):

Han. Donni. Mil. Doni volt tibi

dare hic nescio quid.

Etc.

In *Aristophanes* one of the forms of humor employed by the clown was the parody of another's speech. Similar to this are the parody, mockery and ironical reflections of the buffoons in *Plautus* and *Terence*. Thus, when *Therapontigonus* threatens *Cappadox* in the name of his sword and shield, the procurer retorts by naming other and humbler weapons (*Curc.* 574 ff.):

Ther. At ita me machaera et clupeus  
bene iuvent pugnantes in acie.

Capp. At ita me volsellae, pecten, speculum, calamistrum meum  
bene me amassint meaque axitia linteumque extersui,<sup>8</sup>

Etc.

<sup>7</sup> Other instances: *Epidicus* in *Epid.* 306 ff.; cook in *Merc.* 753 ff.; *Artotrogus* in *Miles* 19, 33 ff., 49; *Periplectomenus* in *Miles* 200 ff., 219 ff.; *Palaestrio*, *ibid.* 1024, 1043 f., 1045; *Gnatho* in *Eun.* 402 f., 407 f., 409 f., 419 f., 429; *Parmeno*, *ibid.* 457 f.; *Tranio* in *Most.* 829 ff., 848 ff., 909 ff.; *Toxilus* in *Persa* 561 ff., 572 f.; *Toxilus*, *Sagaristio* and *Paegnium*, *ibid.* 791 ff., 809 f., 846 f.; *Pseudolus* in *Pseud.* 75 f., 613 f.; *Sceparnio* in *Rud.* 140 f., 144 ff., 149 ff.; *Trachalio*, *ibid.* 372 f.; *Charmides*, *ibid.* 557 f., 871 ff.; *Gripus* and *Trachalio*, *ibid.* 1003, 1178 f.; *Labrax*, *ibid.* 1380 f.; *Charmides* in *Trin.* 896 ff., 903 ff., 929 f., 936 ff., 958 ff.; *Geta* in *Phorm.* 771 ff.; *Demea* in *Adel.* 905 ff.; *Euclio* in *Aul.* 425 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. also: *Chrysalus* in *Bacch.* 211 f.; parasite, *ibid.* 605; *Palinurus* in *Curc.* 90, 94, 129 f., 131; *Cappadox*, *ibid.* 585; *Curculio*, *ibid.* 602; *Therapontigonus*, *ibid.* 611 f.; *Tranio* in *Most.* 1167; *Milphio* in *Poen.* 141 ff., 325 f., 365 ff., 392 ff.; *Sceparnio* in *Rud.* 115 f., 429, 435, 567; *Charmides*, *ibid.* 497 ff.; *Daemones*, *ibid.* 635 ff.; *Syrus* in *Adel.* 375 ff., 385 ff., 417 ff., 420 ff.

Sometimes the clown mocks his interlocutor by replying to him with a continual repetition of the same word. So Trachalio, Rud. 1211 ff., answers all Daemones' statements with 'Licet', until the old man becomes tired of it and replies to the slave with the same word. After Trachalio's exit, Daemones remarks (ll. 1225 ff.):

Hercules istum infelicet cum sua licentia;  
ita meas replevit auris, quidquid memorabam, licet.<sup>9</sup>

The comments of the clown become indecent in the case of Sosia, who remarks on Alcumena's pregnancy (Amph. 664, ff., 718 f., 721 ff.). Indecency in Latin comedy does not, of course, have the place it holds in Aristophanes, but the clown of the later stage is not averse to this form of humor. So, in the *Asinaria*, Libanus addresses his master's beloved thus (l. 695):

fac proserpentem bestiam me, duplicam ut habeam linguam.<sup>10</sup>

The clown's vulgar wit is employed more than once, in Plautus, at the expense of women.<sup>11</sup>

The clown of the old comedy parodied tragedy and the tragic style; e. g., Dicaeopolis in the scene with Euripides. The new comedy clown likewise parodies the high style of tragedy, struts about the stage, and puts on airs. So Pseudolus, Pseud. 702 ff.:

Io,  
io te te, turanne, te te ego, qui imperitas Pseudolo,  
etc.

On which his master comments (l. 707):

Ut paratagoedat carnufex.

In the scene with Simo and Callipho, previous to this, the slave's lordly pose had called forth the old gentleman's remark (l. 458):

Statum vide hominis, Callipho, quam basilicum.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Other instances: Mercury and Sosia in Amph. 370 ff.; Milphio in Poen. 428 ff.; Pseudolus in Pseud. 79 ff., 483 ff.; Trachalio in Rud. 1268 ff.; Stasimus in Trin. 583 ff.; Gnatho in Eun. 778 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also Anthrax, cook, in Aul. 304 f.; Ergasilus in Capt. 867; Hegio, *ibid.* 966; Lysidamus in Cas. 812; Lampadio in Cist. 776 f.; Pinacium in Most. 894-5; Paegnium in Persa 848; Collybiscus in Poen. 609 f.; Pseudolus in Pseud. 23 f.; Sceparnio in Rud. 429.

<sup>11</sup> Examples: Sosia, in Amph. 738 ff.; Libanus in Asin. 624; Leonida and Libanus, *ibid.* 662 ff.; Palinarus in Curc. 123 f., 190 ff.; Milphio in Poen. 375, 376 ff.; Sceparnio in Rud. 420 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Other instances: Mercury in Amph. 341; Leonida in Asin. 323 f.; Chrysalus in Bacch. 226, 640 ff., 892 ff., 925 ff., 933, 945 ff., 987 f., 1053 ff., 1067 ff.; Ergasilus in Capt. 825 ff.; Olympio in Cas. 723; Epidicus in Epid. 341 ff., 349 ff.; Palaestrio in Miles 200 ff., 266, 592 ff.; Tranio in Most. 687 f., 1049 f.; Sagaristio in Persa 251 ff.; Toxilus, *ibid.* 753 ff.; Paegnium, *ibid.* 806; Milphio in Poen. 384; Pseudolus in Pseud. 685 f.; Pinacium in Stich. 274 ff., 305 f.

Their success in procuring money dishonestly is the source of this affectation in Epidicus and Sagaristio (Epid. 341 ff., Persa 251 ff.); Pinacium (Stichus) is inspired by the good news he has to tell; so also Ergasilus of the Captivi.

The slave loves to tease his master or friend by holding back the money his machinations have procured; so Libanus and Leonida. in the scene with Argyrippus (As. 645 ff.), and Sagaristio with Toxilus (Persa 308 ff.). In the Asinaria and the Persa, jests are made on the live-stock that the money was paid or intended for (As. 588 ff., Persa 316 ff.); and in the Persa, Toxilus and Sagaristio facetiously make believe that the coin is a boil on Sagaristio's neck (Persa 312 ff.).

Accepting terms in their literal and wrong sense was a mark of the ἄγροικος *stupidus* in the old comedy. The same thing occurs in Plautus, only here the clown is not a *stupidus*, and very evidently misunderstands purposely, and with facetious intent; and it frequently has the effect of a pun. Thus Sosia comments on Mercury's threat, Amph. 309 ff.:

Merc. Quisquis homo huc profecto venerit, pugnos edet.  
Sos. Apage, non placet me hoc noctis esse: cenavi modo;  
proin tu istam cenam largire, si sapis, esurientibus.<sup>13</sup>

The puns in Plautus, who is notoriously fond of this variety of wit, are largely Latin puns, and therefore not derived from the original. Some, however, are taken over from the Greek, as Legrand has pointed out;<sup>14</sup> it may be that there were in the Greek as many as there now are in the Latin, and that the Latin puns take the place of those in the Greek that were untranslatable. The fact that there are infinitely more in Plautus than in Terence is against this theory; but we must also take into account the fact that Plautus's plays were undoubtedly of a more humorous and farcical nature than were Terence's in the original, and may thus have contained more word-plays. As an example of Greek puns, take Cas. 318 ff.:

<sup>13</sup> Cf. also: Sosia, *ibid.* 313 ff., 369; Mercury, *ibid.* 370; Libanus in *Asin.* 285 f., 330; Anthrax in *Aul.* 283 f.; Congrio, *ibid.* 285 f.; *Iorarius* in *Capt.* 121; Philolaches, *ibid.* 281; Lysidamus in *Cas.* 812; Lampadio in *Cist.* 732 f., 776 f.; Palinurus in *Curc.* 41 f.; Curculio, *ibid.* 60 f.; Thesprio in *Epid.* 25; Acanthio in *Merc.* 183; Lucrio in *Miles* 827; Tranio in *Most.* 1009, 1118; Troxilus in *Persa* 801; *advocati* in *Poen.* 566; Pseudolus in *Pseud.* 74, 457; Plesidippus in *Rud.* 118 f.

<sup>14</sup> Legrand, *Daos* pp. 601 ff. Cf. also H. W. Prescott, *Classical Philology*, Vol. II, p. 335, on the pun of Euclio in *Aul.* 561 ff.



Ol. Cum eadem qua tu semper. Lys. Cum uxore mea?

Ol. Quam tu mi uxorem? quasi venator tu quidem es:  
dies atque noctes cum cane aetatem exigis.

Here *venator* was *κυνηγέτης* in the Greek, the force of the witticism being partly lost in Latin.<sup>15</sup>

A noticeable trick in the buffoonery of the old comedy was giving an unexpected turn to a sentence—the ending *καθ' ὑπόνοιαν* or *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*. This occurs several times in Plautus; cf. Stasimus's monologue, where he foretells the prowess of himself and his master in battle (Trin. 723 ff.):

credo ad summos bellatores acrem—fugitorem fore  
et capturum spolia ibi—illum qui (meo) ero adversus venerit.<sup>16</sup>

Etc

Another trick of the clown in Latin comedy is taking the words from another's mouth, or adding to what has been said, finishing the sentence to suit himself, sometimes turning a malediction against its enunciator. Cf. Cas. 389 ff.:

Ol. Taceo. deos quaeso— Chal. Ut quidem tu hodie canem  
et furcam feras.

Ol. Mihi ut sortito eveniat— Chal. Ut quidem hercle pedibus  
pendeas.

Ol. At tu ut oculos emungere ex capite per nasum tuos.<sup>17</sup>

Parallel with the clown's addresses to the audience, in Aristophanes, are the comments on events and characters of the day made by Plautus's running clown. This familiar personage will be noted in a later chapter.

<sup>15</sup> Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 94; Legrand, Daos p. 602. Other puns, mostly not to be traced to the Greek: Sosia in Amph. 304 f., 721 ff., 813 f.; Mercury, ibid. 355, 1031 f., 1034; parasite in Asin. 907 f.; Chrysalus in Bacch. 201 ff., 362; Nicobulus, ibid. 310; Ergasilus in Capt. 69 ff., 188, 860; Hegio, ibid. 182 f.; Philocrates, ibid. 277 f.; Tyndarus, ibid. 578, 1004; Chalinus in Cas. 494 ff.; Olympio, ibid. 720 ff.; Palinurus in Curc. 30 ff., 70; Lycus, ibid. 401; Cureulio, ibid. 413 ff.; Epidicus in Epid. 349 ff.; Peniculus in Men. 776; Tranio in Most. 769 ff.; Saturio in Persa 60; Prologus in Poen. 92, 116 f.; Agorastocles, ibid. 279; Milphio, ibid. 292 ff.; Collybiscus, ibid. 647 f., 691 f.; Syncerastus, ibid. 862 f., 886; Calidorus in Pseud. 90; Pseudolus, ibid. 653 f.; Charmides in Rud. 516 f., 883 f., 886 ff.; Scepharnio, ibid. 579 f.; Labrax, ibid. 1304 ff.; Gelasimus in Stich. 242; Epignomus, ibid. 630.

<sup>16</sup> Other examples: Libanus in Asin. 42 f.; Leonida, ibid. 309 ff., 559; Megaronides in Aul. 154; Chrysalus in Bacch. 1067; Prologus in Capt. 1 f.; Ergasilus, ibid. 461 ff.; Syncerastus in Poen. 855; Trachalio in Rud. 309 ff.; Charmides, ibid. 891; Gelasimus in Stich. 182, 503 f.; Callicles in Trin. 42; Stasimus, ibid. 723 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also: Libanus in Asin. 625; Tyndarus in Capt. 662 f.; Chalinus in Cas. 389 f.; Collybiscus in Poen. 684; Pseudolus in Pseud. 37; Simo, ibid. 943; Scepharnio in Rud. 108 f.; Trachalio, ibid. 375; Gelasimus in Stich. 262; Charmides in Trin. 945; Syrus in Adel. 770 f.

The illusion is sometimes destroyed in comedy, with humorous intent, when a character refers to the apparatus or devices of the drama, or addresses the audience; so when Trygaeus calls to the operator of the crane as he rides up on his beetle. This occurs not infrequently in Plautus, as when Mercury states that he is going to act like the running slaves of comedy.<sup>18</sup>

Some of the instances cited under the last category and previously given are from the prologue, and the Prologue not infrequently takes the part of clown.<sup>19</sup>

Humorous monologues and long speeches are especially characteristic of parasites, and not unknown to other buffoons. Saturio, Persa 118 ff., gives an account of the parasite's equipment and of the dowry that he shall give with his daughter.<sup>20</sup> In these monologues occur frequently extravagant fancies and conceits, such as Ergasilus's humorous threat to bring action against the young men for not inviting him to dinner (Capt. 492 ff.) and Peniculus's account of the best way to keep captives from running away, i. e., by chains of food (Men. 79 ff.).<sup>21</sup> Similar to these extravagances is the humorous exaggeration of the stories told by Pythodocus about Euclio (Aul. 300 ff.).<sup>22</sup>

The interruptions and comments of the clown of Aristophanes were largely on the subject of eating, drinking and other pleasures of no high order. The parasite of Latin comedy, as we have just noted, speaks monologues dealing with the pleasures of the table; and the comments of slaves contain references to these and other enjoyments. Cf. Asin. 623 f.:

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Legrand, Daos p. 541; Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 195 n. Examples: Mercury in Amph. 986 ff.; Chrysalus in Bacch. 1072 ff.; Ergasilus in Capt. 778 f.; Prologus in Men. 22 f., 45 f., 49 f.; Acanthio in Merc. 160; Tranio in Most. 334 ff., 1149 ff.; Prologus in Poen. 9 ff., 626; Pseudolus in Pseud. 125 ff., 562 ff., 720 f.; Simo and Pseudolus, *ibid.* 1330 ff.; Gelasimus in Stich. 579 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Mercury in Amph. 1 ff., 463 ff. (the prologue is continued in monologues by Mercury and Jupiter throughout this play: Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 202), 997 ff.; Jupiter, *ibid.* 861 ff., 974 ff.; Prologus in Poen. 10 ff., 23 ff., 31 ff., 62 f., 92 f., 116 f.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Legrand's comment on such monologues, Daos pp. 585 f. Other examples: Pythodocus in Aul. 363 ff.; Ergasilus in Capt. 69 ff., 461 ff.; Peniculus in Men. 77 ff.; Acanthio in Merc. 125; Saturio in Persa 53 ff.; Gelasimus in Stich. 155 ff., 174 f., 227 ff.; Stasimus in Trin. 719 ff.; Gnathio in Eun. 232 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also: Ergasilus's auction in Capt. 177 ff.; Olympio in Cas. 117 ff.; Phaedria's statue of wine in Curc. 140 ff.; Epidicus in Epid. 22 f.; Gelasimus, son of Fames, in Stich. 155 ff.; Gelasimus's auction, *ibid.* 194 f., 218 ff. (a Plautine interpolation: Leo, Plaut. Forsch. pp. 152 f.).

<sup>22</sup> Other similar instances: Ergasilus' on the effects of starvation in Capt. 133 ff.; Philocrates' account of the stinginess of Thensaurochrysonicochrysidēs, Capt. 289 ff.

Lib. Philaenium, salve. Phil. Dabunt di quae velitis vobis.

Lib. Noctem tuam et vini cadum velim, si optata fiant.<sup>23</sup>

The *ἄγροικος* of Aristophanes, who appeared as *stupidus* in his dealings with an *ἀλαζών*, has largely disappeared in Plautus and Terence, and instances of a *stupidus* are rare. But Sosia's confusion as to his own identity after he has been confronted by his counterpart in Mercury may be classed under this head.<sup>24</sup>

The clown of the old comedy was victorious over his adversaries, and beat them from the stage. Such rough work rarely occurs in the more refined later drama; but we find Cario, the cook in the *Miles*, handling Pyrgopolinices roughly (ll. 1398 ff.); Tranio beats Grumio in the *Mostellario* (l. 10); and Paegnium has sport with Dordalus (*Persa* 809 f., 846).

Instances of horse-play set in motion by a clown occur only twice: *Asin.* 39 ff., where Libanus makes *Daemones* spit, and ll. 700 ff. of the same play, where Libanus and Leonida literally 'play horse' with their master.

The banquets in Latin comedy, which remind us of the clown's good cheer in Aristophanes, will be mentioned in the chapter on the transition from the old comedy to the new.<sup>25</sup>

Syrus, of the *Adelphoe*, and Pseudolus, although they enter drunk towards the close of the play, do not speak in the foolish style of really intoxicated persons. Perhaps the only instance of such a character should have been included as a '*stupidus*'; for in his likeness to this type his mirth-provoking qualities lie. This is Callidamates, of the *Mostellaria*, who makes a delightful comment on the return of Philolaches' father each time he is awakened and informed of that impending disaster. At l. 386 he calls for a *matula*, a useful article of furniture which is mentioned twice in Aristophanes<sup>26</sup> and played a prominent part in ancient farces.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also: Ergasilus in *Capt.* 901 ff., 909 ff.; Olympio in *Cas.* 724-5, 801 f.; Palinurus in *Curc.* 82 ff.; Planesium's comment on Palinurus, *ibid.* 186; Curculio in *Curc.* 309, 313 ff., 369, 659 ff.; Peniculus in *Men.* 141 f., 177; Messenio, *ibid.* 268; Artotrogus in *Miles* 24, 34 ff., 49; Lucrio, *ibid.* 818 ff., 833 ff.; Tranio in *Most.* 1130 ff.; Saturio in *Persa* 77 ff., 93 ff., 103, 138 f., 145; Milphio in *Poen.* 257 ff., 313; Pseudolus in *Pseud.* 1258 ff.; Gelasimus in *Stich.* 179 f., 251, 341; Stasimus in *Trin.* 474 ff., 480 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Amph.* 423 ff., 455 ff., 576 ff., 603, 607, 609, 625. Cf. also: Lucrio in *Miles* 814 ff., 830 f.; Stasimus in *Trin.* 515 ff., 560 f.

<sup>25</sup> The plays ending with a banquet are: *Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Persa* and *Stichus*. In the *Pseudolus*, Pseudolus comes in drunk in the last act; likewise Syrus in the *Adelphoe*. The *Asinaria* and *Bacchides* are not of interest to us here, since the clown is not the hero of the feast.

<sup>26</sup> *Vesp.* 807 ff., *Ran.* 544.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, pp. 63, 65 f.



Jokes about the punishments inflicted on slaves were constantly in the mouths of these characters, who reflected ruefully on their impending sufferings and twitted their fellows on similar experiences endured by them. Cf. *Sosia*, *Amph.* 159-160:

ita quasi incudem me miserum homines octo validi caedant.<sup>28</sup>

Cooks are also involved in such repartee with slaves or with one another;<sup>29</sup> in one instance a slave taunts a procurer with his impending punishment.<sup>30</sup>

The ridiculous appearance of the clown added to the humor of his part. He was red-headed and pot-bellied in the case of the slave (*Asin.* 400 f.):

Macilentis malis, rufulus aliquantum, ventriosus,  
truculentis oculis, commoda statura, tristi fronte—

Libanus's description of Leonida. Pseudolus is described by Harpax (*Pseud.* 1218 ff.); Labrax, the procurer in the *Rudens*, who acts the clown at times, is described in two places (ll. 125 ff., 316 ff.). The parasite was one-eyed in the *Curculio* and in the *Menaechmi* (*Curc.* 392 ff., *Men.* 156 f.).

When it comes to a question of wives and marriage, the old men in Plautus become *βαμολόχοι* more than once as they give their comments. So Megadorus to his sister (*Aul.* 153 ff.):

quae cras veniat, perendie foras feratur;<sup>31</sup>  
etc.

Old gentlemen were not above a little buffoonery in other cases also. Cf. Euclio's remarks on the lamb furnished by Megadorus (*Aul.* 561 ff.).<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Other instances: *Sosia* in *Amph.* 180, 280 ff.; *Libanus* in *Asin.* 31, 35, 363 f., 277, 315 f., 318 f., 321, 325, 548 ff., 557, 567 ff., 626 ff.; *Leonida*, *ibid.* 561 ff.; *Libanus* and *Leonida*, *ibid.* 297 ff., 341 f., 370 ff.; *Chrysalus* in *Bacch.* 364 f.; "Iorarius" in *Capt.* 121 ff.; *Tyndarus*, *ibid.* 650 ff., 998 ff.; *Hegio*, *ibid.* 962; *Stalagmus*, *ibid.* 1028; *Thesprio* in *Epid.* 10, 12; *Epidicus*, *ibid.* 11-11a, 125, 310 f., 625 f.; *Grumio* in *Most.* 19, 55 ff.; *Tranio*, *ibid.* 334 ff.; *Sagaristio* in *Persa* 21 f., 27, 264; *Paegnium*, *ibid.* 279, 298; *Milphio* in *Poen.* 397 ff., 427; *Pseudolus* in *Pseud.* 332 ff., 545, 656; *Trachalio* in *Rud.* 998 ff.; *Stasimus* in *Trin.* 413, 1011; *Cyamus* in *Truc.* 561 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Pythodocus* to *Anthrax* in *Aul.* 322 ff.; *Anthrax* to *Congrio*, *ibid.* 332 ff., 337 ff.; *Congrio* to *Staphila*, *ibid.* 357 ff.; *Olympio* on *Citrio* in *Cas.* 720 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Trachalio* to *Labrax* in *Rud.* 752 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also: *Daemones* in *Asin.* 16 ff., 42 f.; *Simo* in *Most.* 690 ff., 702 f.; *Megaronides* and *Callicles* in *Trin.* 51 ff.; *Charmides*, *ibid.* 1184 f.

<sup>32</sup> In connection with puns, Prescott's article on Euclio's "agnus curio," *Classical Philology*, Vol. II, has been referred to. Other instances of old men as jesters: *Nicobulus's* pun in *Bacch.* 310; *Hegio* in *Capt.* 124, 154 ff., 184 f., 962, 966; *Simo* in *Most.* 1000 ff.; *Simo* in *Pseud.* 943.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW COMEDY.

In Aristophanes' later work we see the transition from the old comedy to the new already beginning. That the continuity between the old and the new was unbroken we know from the resemblance of Plautus's *Amphitruo* to the *Plutus* of Aristophanes.<sup>1</sup> In the *Frogs* we have a forewarning of the change from the political satire to a milder form, and the *Plutus* is an allegory set in the framework of private life; the process of transformation is well on its way.<sup>2</sup> Here Hermes appears as the slave of Zeus, alongside the real slave *Cario*; exactly as in the *Amphitruo*, only here the mortal has the advantage over the god. The prominence of the slave *βωμολόχος* connects the play with the new comedy, for the exposition is given in a conversation between master and slave, as in the *Pseudolus*, *Poenulus*, *Asinaria*, *Curculio* and *Andria*.<sup>3</sup> The same form of exposition was used in the *Frogs*. This prominence of the slave was not characteristic of Aristophanes' plays in general, as Dieterich justly remarks;<sup>4</sup> his prominence in later comedy is rather a return to the fashion of Aristophanes' predecessors and rivals. Dieterich calls attention to the prominence of *Xanthias* in the *Frogs*, and the still greater importance of *Cario* in the *Plutus*, as the leading comic figures. They are the typical slaves of the new comedy.

Mythological travesty was characteristic of the middle comedy.<sup>5</sup> The *Amphitruo*, as mentioned above, connects later comedy with Aristophanes by its resemblance to the *Plutus*; and the slave is familiar to the audience as a typical character by this time, as is shown by Mercury's reference to the mask.<sup>6</sup> In the *Amphitruo* also we have the running clown: Mercury enters in a hurry and refers to the ridiculous threats and boasts usually made on such occasions in a way which shows that this part was a familiar one. *Xanthias* refers

<sup>1</sup> Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* pp. 124 f.; Frantz, *de com. att. prologis* p. 41 n.

<sup>2</sup> Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* 101 f., 177 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> *Pulcinella* pp. 24 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27. It did not, of course, originate in the middle period, but had always been employed by comic writers, e. g., Epicharmus and Cratinus.

<sup>6</sup> Dieterich, *Pulcinella* p. 27.

in the same way to the stock of jests of slaves. The prototype of the clown as messenger is also in the *Plutus*, in the person of *Cario*, who announces the recovery of *Plutus*'s eyesight to his mistress. Here he is the typical clown bringing a message, although he does not come in out of breath and threatening like *Mercury* and other clowns of the new comedy. He resembles rather *Ergasilus*<sup>7</sup> reporting the good news to *Hegio*, in his ridiculous delay in telling what he has to say and in his demand for refreshment. See also *Pinacium* in the *Stichus*. The running messenger, also, appears in *Aristophanes*, though not as clown: *Amphitheus*, *Ach.* 176 ff., the messengers in the *Birds*, ll. 1122 ff. and 1170 ff., and *Clisthenes*, *Thesm.* 571 ff.<sup>8</sup> *Mercury* also refers to the jokes of slaves, as *Xanthias* in the *Frogs* (*Amph.* 41, *Frogs* 1).

The slave, as *Legrand* notes,<sup>9</sup> was fond of eating, drinking and lechery. This makes him a typical *βωμολόχος*; *Süss* has shown that the clown of *Aristophanes* interrupts the conversation with reference to such low subjects. As examples, take *Milphio* in the *Poenulus* (l. 313):

Agor. At ego amo hanc. Mil. At ego esse et bibere—

*Stasimus* in the *Trinummus*, and *Stichus*. The characterization of classes of society, which is a feature of the monologues of running clowns, comes from *Euripides*, says *Leo*.<sup>10</sup> See the comments on procurers and bankers by *Curculio* (*Curc.* 494 ff.); on butchers, bakers and fishmongers, by *Ergasilus* (*Capt.* 807 ff.); on *Graeci palliati* and *scurrae* (*Curc.* 288 ff.); *Stasimus* on the degeneracy of the times (*Trin.* 1027 ff.). This type of comment is also made—rarely, however—by characters that are not clowns. Much of the text in Latin comedy is probably original with *Plautus* in these monologues, but that the custom is one practiced in the middle comedy is proved by the fragments: *Antiphanes* fr. 159, on *παιδαγωγοί, μαίαι, μητραγύρται, ἰχθυοπῶλαι*; *Anaxilas* fr. 22 on courtesans; and many comments on fishmongers quoted in *Athenaeus*. Whether the clown delivered these fragments of the middle comedy we cannot say. The fact that he does give most of such comments in the Latin plays reminds one of the clown in *Aristophanes*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Leo*, *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 124, where he compares *Cario* to *Ergasilus*.

<sup>8</sup> *Legrand*, *Daos* p. 430.

<sup>9</sup> *Legrand*, *Daos* p. 133.

<sup>10</sup> *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 118.



nes, who sometimes passed judgment on current affairs as the mouthpiece of the poet.

The Amphitruo has been used throughout this discussion of the development of the old comedy into the new, as illustrated by the slave buffoon common to both. There is some doubt as to the date of the original of this comedy,<sup>10a</sup> but the fact that it is a mythological travesty, and the tragic tone of Alcumena's part, point to the middle comedy as its origin; and its resemblance to the Plutus in the characters of Mercury and the slave is very striking.

The tragic tone of the Virgo's speech in the Persa reminds us of Alcumena, and this comedy also is referred<sup>10b</sup> to the middle period. In this comedy another of the typical clowns of the new comedy appears: the parasite. The parasite has a double claim to rank as clown; in the first place, he is a professional buffoon, and one branch of his profession possibly gave the name *βωμολόχος* to the type;<sup>11</sup> in the second place, his gluttony itself is a popular mirth-provoking quality. Eating, drinking and lechery, which were characteristic of the clown of the old comedy, are united in the slave *βωμολόχος* of the new. The parasite lacks lechery, because his ardent pursuit of the pleasures of the table precludes all other enjoyments.<sup>12</sup>

The parasite is a legacy of the old comedy. He was introduced on the comic stage by Epicharmus,<sup>13</sup> and appears in the Knights of Aristophanes. The sycophant belongs in the same class with the parasite,<sup>14</sup> and is united with him in the person of Phormio. See also Saturio's monologue in the Persa. The part of the *sycophanta* in the Trinummus, in whose case the term has extended its meaning to include the *παντοποιός*, is in the clown's own manner, though the sycophant is also an *ἀλαζών*. Leo compares the parasite of the Persa (l. 53) to the sycophant of the Birds.<sup>15</sup> The companion of the hero of the mime was a parasite or a slave,<sup>16</sup> and the vulgar jests of the parasites, i. e., the clowns, of the mime, are mentioned by

<sup>10a</sup> Cf. Legrand, Daos. p. 17 and note.

<sup>10b</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, Ind. lect. Gött. 1893-94, pp. 13 ff. Referred to by Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 110. The literature of the discussion is given by Legrand, l. c.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. note on the word *βωμολόχος* at the beginning of this thesis.

<sup>12</sup> Legrand, Daos p. 381.

<sup>13</sup> Athen. 235 E, Dieterich, Pulcinella pp. 42 f.

<sup>14</sup> Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 112.

<sup>15</sup> Plaut. Forsch. p. 124.

<sup>16</sup> Reich, Der Mimus p. 90.

Cyprian.<sup>17</sup> The parasite added to the humor of his part by his baldness, and his frequent lack of one eye; his mask was hook-nosed.<sup>18</sup> In the old Doric comedy there was a glutton's mask.<sup>19</sup> This glutton type is found in the satyr plays: Silenus, Heracles, satyrs, Thersites.<sup>20</sup> Leo compares Peithetaerus and Heracles, Av. 1579, to Saturio and Toxilus, Persa I 3.<sup>21</sup> In both instances the glutton is tempted by the other character, and yields to his appetite.

In the Persa the buffoonery of the parasite is confined to his humorous monologue and the speeches to his daughter. He does not jest so freely as Ergasilus in the Captivi. Another thing characteristic of the clown, which we find in the Persa, is the banquet at the close, in which the three slaves, Toxilus, Sagaristio, and Paegnium, make sport of the procurer Dordalus. This is a reminiscence of the old comedy that disappears later.<sup>22</sup> It is found also in the Stichus, where the feast is not organically connected with the play as in the Persa and may have been taken from a play of the middle period.<sup>23</sup> These banquet scenes are not by Plautus.<sup>24</sup>

Another type of buffoon in the middle comedy was the cook. He is, to be sure, more of an *ἀλαζών*, but the jests of Anthrax and Congrio, his successors in the later comedy, and Athenaeus's reference (659 b) to the *μάγειρος σκωπτικός* in the Epitrepontes of Menander, give good reason to suppose that he also played the clown. What fragments we have of his part, however, are almost entirely *ἀλαζονεία*. See Legrand's remark on the popularity of the cook and the parasite.<sup>25</sup>

We have, therefore, two principal types of clown in the new comedy, whose prototypes we have seen in the old comedy and continuing in the middle period; and the glutton type appears in the mime also.<sup>25a</sup> These two, the slave and the parasite, have displaced the *ἄγροικος* that played so important a rôle in Aristophanes; we have hardly a faint echo of him in the few *ἄγροικοι* of the new comedy: Grunio, Olympio, Gripus and Sceparnio. He even appears as the butt rather than as the originator of mirth in the Truculentus, and we laugh at him instead of with him. And he differs also from the *ἄγροικος* of Aristophanes in that he is always a slave in the later

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> Dieterich, *Pulcinella* pp. 34 f.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. pp. 38 f.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. Chap. II.

<sup>21</sup> Plaut. Forsch. p. 124.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 152.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 152.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 119.

<sup>25</sup> Daos p. 381.

<sup>25a</sup> Reich, *Der Mimus* pp. 445 f.

drama; in the old comedy slave and ἄγροικος are not united in the same person.

Specimens of the different varieties of βωμολοχία found in the Latin translations of comedies of the transition period, i. e., in the Amphitruo and the Persa, which belong to the middle comedy, have been given in Chapter II. There are also remains of what were evidently clown's speeches in the Greek fragments of the middle comedy. Two punning jesters are quoted by Athenaeus (100 c, 100 d): one from Alexis: <sup>26</sup>

ὑπὲρ πάτρας μὲν πᾶς τις ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει,  
ὑπὲρ δὲ μήτρας Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος  
ἐφθῆς ἴσως προσεῖτ' ἂν ἀποθανεῖν,

another from Antiphanes: <sup>27</sup>

ἔμμητρον ἂν ᾗ τὸ ξύλον, βλάστην ἔχει·  
μητρόπολις ἐστίν, οὐχὶ πατρόπολις <πόλις>·  
μήτραν τινὲς πωλοῦσιν ἥδιστον κρέας·  
Μητρᾶς ὁ Χιὼς ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ φίλος.

Reminding one of the clown's gift of parody, a character in Antiphanes <sup>27a</sup> ridicules Demosthenes:

ὁ δεσπότης δὲ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς  
ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. Β. ἡγάπασεν ἂν  
τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο παραλαβὼν Δημοσθένης.

Fragments of the monologues of parasites are found among the remains of the middle period. In a fragment of Antiphanes, a parasite tells, like Ergasilus and Peniculus, the name by which the young men call him: <sup>28</sup>

καὶ καλοῦσι μ' οἱ νεώτεροι  
διὰ ταῦτα πάντα "σκηπτόν"· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μέλει  
τῶν σκωμμάτων μοι· τῶν φίλων γὰρ ὦν φίλος  
ἔργοισι χρηστὸς οὐ λόγοις ἔφυν μόνον.

Another, in a fragment of Alexis, complains of his patron's rapid gait: <sup>29</sup>

ἐμοὶ παρασιτεῖν κρεῖττον ἦν τῷ Πηγάσῳ,  
τοῖς Βορεάδαις ἢ θᾶπτον ὅ τι τούτων τρέχει,  
ἢ Δημέα Λάχνητος Ἐτεοβουτάδῃ.  
πέτεται γάρ, οὐχ οἷον βαδίζει τὰς ὁδοὺς.

<sup>26</sup> Kock, C. A. F. II, p. 368.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 94.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 108.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 371 (v. 2 as emended by Kaibel).

<sup>27a</sup> Ibid. p. 80.



In another fragment of Alexis, the speaker, while not informing us who he is, has the parasite's instincts; after telling what there was for dinner, he concludes: <sup>30</sup>

ὁ μὲν ἐμοὶ λαλῶν  
ἄμα καὶ διανεύων ἡσυχολεῖθ', ὁ πᾶς δ' ἀγὼν  
ἐπ' ἐμὲ κατήντα. τὸ πέρας οὐκ ἀνῆχ' ἕως  
τὴν λοπάδ' ὀρύττων ἀποδέδειχα κόσκινον.

The speech of a character of Antiphanes is a humorous anticlimax: <sup>31</sup>

τίς γὰρ κάτοιδ' ἡμῶν τὸ μέλλον ὃ τι παθεῖν  
πέπρωθ' ἐκάστω τῶν φίλων; ταχὺ δὴ λαβὼν  
ὅπτα μύκητας πρινίνους τουσδὶ δύο.

Like the extravagant stories told by Pythodocus of Euclio, in the *Aulularia*, is the account of a parasite given by a character of Eubulus: <sup>32</sup>

εἰσὶν ἡμῖν τῶν κεκλημένων δύο  
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἄμαχοι, Φιλοκράτης καὶ Φιλοκράτης  
ἓνα γὰρ ἐκείνον ὄντα δύο λογίζομαι,  
μεγάλους . . . . . μᾶλλον δὲ τρεῖς.  
ὅν φασί ποτε κληθέντ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πρὸς τινος,  
εἰπόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ φίλου, ὀπηνίκ' ἂν  
εἵκοσι ποδῶν μετροῦντι τὸ στοιχεῖον ἦ,  
ἦκειν, ἔωθεν αὐτὸν εὐθύς ἡλίου  
μετρεῖν ἀνέχοντος, μακροτέρας δ' οὔσης ἔτι  
πλεῖν ἢ δυοῖν ποδοῖν παρῆναι τῆς σκιᾶς,  
ἔπειτα φάναι μικρὸν ὀψιαίτερον  
δι' ἀσχολίαν ἦκειν, παρόνθ' ἅμ' ἡμέρα.

In another fragment of Eubulus a parasite invokes a curse on a type of person inimical to his profession, as Ergasilus threatens to take legal action against young men who withhold their invitations: <sup>33</sup>

ὅστις δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἢ φίλον τιν' ἢ ξένον  
καλέσας ἔπειτα συμβολὰς ἐπράξατο,  
φυγὰς γένοιτο μηδὲν οἴκοθεν λαβών.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. p. 392.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 111.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 206.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 189.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE CLOWN IN MENANDER.

In the four plays of Menander of which a considerable portion is extant we find little *βωμολοχία*. In the prologue of the *Hero*, the part of Geta is somewhat in the clown's manner; he acts as commentator and adviser on the story of Davus. Onesimus, in the *Epitrepontes*, ends a sentence *καθ' ὑπόνοιαν* (ll. 357 ff.):

ἀν δέ τις λάβῃ μ' ἔτι  
περιεργασάμενον ἢ λαλήσαντ', ἐκτεμεῖν  
δίδωμ' ἐμαυτοῦ τοὺς—δδόντας,

and his ironical dialogue with Smicrines at the end of the play may rightly be called *βωμολοχία*.

The Menandrian plays of Latin comedy are the *Bacchides*, *Andria*, *Eunuch*, *Heauton*, and parts of the *Stichus* and the *Adelphoe*. Those whose originals are plausibly conjectured to be Menandrian are the *Cistellaria* and *Aulularia*: and the *Hecyra*, from a play of Apollodorus, may have been adapted by that poet from Menander.<sup>1</sup> In these plays, taken all together, the amount of buffoonery is somewhat below the average for Latin comedy. In the *Bacchides* we have Chrysalus, a good example of clown. The *Stichus* belongs partly to Menander, but other material has been added by contamination. Thus, the closing scene, *Stichus's* banquet, is not Menander's.<sup>1a</sup> The part most characteristic of Menander is the story of the two brothers and their change of character after their voyage. So Leo remarks; and he gives Acts I, II and IV as Menandrian in tone. This leaves out the part of Pinacium, a clown, in Act II, together with some of Gelasimus's lines. But Gelasimus appears also in Act I, and the change of heart in the two returned travellers is shown entirely by their attitude towards Gelasimus's advances in Acts III and IV. Consequently it is difficult to separate the parasite's part from the rest; and if he is a Menandrian character, we have a pure *βωμολόχος* emanating from this poet. If the Men-

<sup>1</sup> For the literature of the subject see Legrand, *Daos* pp. 16 ff.; on the *Hecyra* see Capps' introduction to the *Epitrepontes*, pp. 42 f. of his *Four Plays of Menander*.

<sup>1a</sup> Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 152.

aechmi also, as has been conjectured with little plausibility, belonged to Menander, the lion's share of parasites acting as clowns and having no other part in the play would fall to him. The *Cistellaria* is thought to be very probably Menander's; in this play there is only a little buffoonery, furnished by the slave Lampadio. In the *Aulularia*, also attributed to this writer, we have a good deal of clown's wit in the part of the slave Pythodicus and in the parts of the cooks, Anthrax and Congrio. We have a cook of Menander's in the *Epitrepontes*, on whom Athenaeus comments (699 b) that he was *σκωπτικός*.

In all the plays of Terence, which have so little buffoonery as compared with those of Plautus, perhaps the best example of a clown is Syrus, in the Menandrian *Adelphoe*. The other Menandrian plays of Terence have no *βωμολοχία*.

The natural conclusion, therefore, in comparing the Latin plays attributed to Menander with his extant fragments, is that the clown held a larger place in his dramas than we should be led to expect by what we have of his original work. The very broadest farce, however, such as appears in the parts of Libanus and Leonida of the *Asinaria*, does not appear in the plays attributed to Menander.

Of the other poets of the new comedy, Philemon, with the *Mercator*, *Mostellaria* and *Trinummus* to his credit, would seem to have given more prominence to *βωμολοχία* in his plays than did his rival. The *Casina* of Diphilus shows about the average amount of buffoonery. Among the Greek fragments of this writer's plays we find traces of the clown. In a fragment of the *Peliades*, the second speaker comments ironically, though here he is evidently not a spectator, but the person addressed: <sup>2</sup>

τὸ δειπνᾶριον ἀνθηρόν ἦν, γλαφυρόν σφόδρα ·  
 φακῆς κατ' ἄνδρα τρύβλιον μεστὸν μέγα.  
 B. πρῶτιστον οὐκ ἀνθηρόν.

A parasite tells of his way of prognosticating the quality of a dinner, in the *Parasite*: <sup>3</sup>

ὅταν με καλέσῃ πλούσιος δείπνον ποιῶν,  
 οὐ κατανοῶ τὰ τρίγλυφ' οὐδὲ τὰς στέγας,  
 οὐδὲ δοκιμάζω τοὺς Κορινθίους κάδους,  
 ἀτενὲς δὲ τηρῶ τοῦ μαγείρου τὸν καπνόν.

<sup>2</sup> Kock, *Fragm. Com.* vol. II, p. 562.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 561.



καὶν μὲν σφοδρὸς φερόμενος εἰς ὀρθὸν τρέχῃ,  
 γέγηθα καὶ χαίρω τε καὶ πτερύσσομαι·  
 ἂν δὲ πλάγιος καὶ λεπτός, εὐθέως νοῶ  
 ὅτι τοῦτό μοι τὸ δεῖπνον ἄλλ' οὐδ' αἶμ' ἔχει.

Another adds an item to the list of execrable crimes: <sup>4</sup>

ἀγνοεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς  
 ὅ τι ἔστιν, εἴ τις μὴ φράσει' ὀρθῶς ὁδὸν  
 ἢ πῦρ ἐναύσει' ἢ διαφθείρει' ὕδωρ,  
 ἢ δειπνιεῖν μέλλοντα κωλύσαι τινά;

A third ascribes a rather improbable sentiment to Euripides: <sup>5</sup>

τοὺς δὲ παρασίτους ἡγάπα. λέγει γέ τοι·  
 'ἀνὴρ γὰρ ὅστις εὖ βίον κεκτημένος  
 μὴ τοῦλάχιστον τρεῖς ἀσυμβόλους τρέφει,  
 ὅλοιτο, νόστου μὴ ποτ' εἰς πάτραν τύχων.'  
 B. πόθεν ἐστὶ ταῦτα, πρὸς θεῶν; A. τί δέ σοι μέλει;  
 οὐ γὰρ τὸ δρᾶμα, τὸν δὲ νοῦν σκοπούμεθα.

Apollodorus's Phormio shows more buffoonery than the average of Terence's plays; the Hecyra, which he may have modeled on the Epitrepontes of Menander, has none.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 561.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 565.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE CLOWN IN THE EXPOSITION.

We have noted that the character of Geta, who assists in the exposition of the Hero, is somewhat in the tone of the clown's part; so we have one fair instance in Menander of a clown in the exposition. Of the twenty plays of Plautus, more than half have *βωμολοχία* in the opening scene. Four open with two slaves on the stage: Casina, Epidicus, Mostellaria and Persa.<sup>1</sup> The regular thing in Aristophanes is for one slave to be a *πρόσωπον προτατικόν*, and for the other to play the clown in the first part of the play and disappear later on. The first condition is observed in two of these plays of the new comedy, the Epidicus and the Mostellaria; the second is not observed in any of the four. In two of the four plays mentioned, viz., Casina and Persa, both slaves remain to the end; in the other two, Epidicus and Mostellaria, one slave remains. In each case one slave at least is a clown throughout the play. Therefore the type does not strictly correspond with the usage of Aristophanes. Dieterich remarks<sup>2</sup> on the fact that Plautus introduces slaves in pairs: 'der bäurischplumpe und der schlaugewandte, der dumme und der verschmitzte.' In two of these plays, the Casina and the Mostellaria, we have a country slave paired with one of the town: Olympio and Chalinus, Grumio and Tranio. But in both these cases, strange to say, the country slave has the advantage in the repartee, such as it is; for the dialogue is mainly abusive. Tranio does, however, follow the clown in Aristophanes when he beats Grumio. The similarity of the two scenes is such that one is confidently believed to be an imitation of the other.<sup>3</sup> In either case the scene forms only part of the exposition. Cleostrata, Pardalisca, Myrrhina and Lysidamus continue the exposition of the Casina; in the Mostellaria the action does not begin until after

<sup>1</sup> Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 176: Epidicus, Mostellaria und Persa haben (wie nach dem 'Prolog' die Casina) in der Eingangsscene die beiden Sklaven, die uns aus der alten Komödie so wohl bekannt sind; in Epidicus und Mostellaria ist der eine von beiden *πρόσωπον προτατικόν*, wie im Phormio, also nur der vorbereitenden Scene wegen erfunden.

<sup>2</sup> Pulcinella p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 188.

Philematium's toilet is completed, and the drunken Callidamates has entered.<sup>4</sup>

The other two plays, *Epidicus* and *Persa*, give better examples of *βωμολοχία* in the exposition, and in both the two speakers are about evenly matched. *Toxilus* and *Sagaristio* exchange those typical slave jokes that *Xanthias* in the *Frogs* is compelled by *Dionysus* to renounce.<sup>5</sup> *Epidicus* and *Thesprio* strive to outdo each other in wit, and perhaps *Epidicus* has a little the advantage, since he calls forth a malediction from *Thesprio*.

In six other plays a slave clown appears with his master at the beginning: *Asinaria*, *Curculio*, *Mercator*, *Poenulus*, *Pseudolus*, *Rudens*. In the last named, however, *Plesidippus* appears with *Sceparnio* and *Daemones*, making three on the stage during the exposition. The *Asinaria*, in its opening scene, reminds Leo of the *Thesmophoriazusae*; but in the *Thesmophoriazusae* it is *Euripides* who explains matters to his companion "*Mnesilochus*," whereas the *Asinaria* opens with a request made by the slave of his master. The humor of *Libanus* in the *Asinaria* consists of the stock references to the punishments inflicted on slaves.<sup>6</sup>

The situation in the first scene of the *Curculio* is improbable.<sup>7</sup> *Phaedromus* relates to *Palinurus*, as *Chremylus* does to *Cario*, matters which the slave must know already. *Libanus* of the *Asinaria* remains throughout the play; but *Palinurus* is allowed the same space as the slave in the second type of *Aristophanes*' plays. As the slave in *Aristophanes* leaves the stage when the chief clown appears, so *Palinurus* departs at the entrance of *Curculio*, who is clown throughout the rest of the play. *Palinurus*'s last words, spoken to his master, refer to the approaching parasite:<sup>8</sup> *Te ille quaerit*—and a final reference to him is made by *Curculio* in l. 369:

tu tabellas consignato, hic ministrabit, ego edam.

The fact that *Palinurus* appears as the companion of his master reminds one of the third type of *Aristophanes*. *Phaedromus* does

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> *LI.* 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *II.* 34 f.:

apud fustitudinas, ferricrepinas insulas,  
ubi vivos homines mortui incursant boves.

<sup>7</sup> Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> *L.* 303.



not become the clown of the latter part of the play, as Peithetaerus does after Euelpides's disappearance; but the fact that Phaedromus is a principal character throughout the play gives that unity which Aristophanes gains by his third type.

The *βωμολοχία* of Palinurus covers three scenes: the one in which he appears alone with Phaedromus, and those with Leaena and Planesium. In these last two he acts as commentator and interrupter, carrying his impudence so far that he is rebuked and beaten by his indignant master. His humor consists of puns,<sup>9</sup> taking words in the wrong sense,<sup>10</sup> and impertinent comments.<sup>11</sup>

The exposition of the *Poenulus* includes the expositions of both the plays from which Plautus composed this comedy.<sup>12</sup> In the first part, taken from the *Καρχηδόνιος*, Agorastocles tells Milphio of his love, as Phaedromus tells Palinurus. Next, the slave introduces his plan for swindling the procurer; this scene is transposed hither by Plautus from a later part of the play. Then the exposition scene of the second play is introduced, in which the slave is the commentator on the dialogue between Agorastocles and Adelphasium. The *βωμολοχία* throughout resembles that of the *Curculio*, and Milphio, like Palinurus, is beaten by his master. Milphio, however, unlike Palinurus, remains throughout the play as chief clown.

The *Pseudolus* opens similarly with a love-sick master and a slave who makes unfeeling comments on his master's passion and its object, as Geta mocks Davus in Menander's *Hero*. No scene with the mistress follows. *Pseudolus* remains as clown throughout the play.

In the *Rudens* Sceparnio appears with his master in the exposition scene, a variation occurring, as has been noted, in the introduction of a third character at the outset, the young lover Plesidippus. In Sceparnio's comments on this young man, and the turns he gives to Plesidippus's speech, the buffoonery of the scene mainly consists. Sceparnio has a larger place as clown than any other *ἄγροικος* of the new comedy; his attempts at wit are not always

<sup>9</sup> Cf. l. 31:

quod amas amato, testibus praesentibus.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. ll. 41 f.:

Phaed. Obloquere. Pal. Fiat maxume. Phaed. Etiam taces?

Pal. Nempe obloqui me iusseras.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. ll. 73 f.:

Pal. Quid? tu te pones Venari ieientaculo?

Phaed. Me, te atque hosce omnis. Pal. Tum tu Venerem vomere vis.

<sup>12</sup> Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.* pp. 159-161.

eminently successful, and bear the stamp of his churlish nature. How different from the delightful urbanity of Trachalio in the same piece, who thus politely returns Ampelisca's malediction:<sup>13</sup>

Amp. Vae capiti atque aetati tuae. Trach. Tuo, mea Ampelisca.

At the outset of the *Miles Gloriosus* the parasite Artotrogus appears, and plays off the ἀλαζών Pyrgopolinices, more as εἴρων than as βωμολόχος, however. After this introductory scene comes the prologue, spoken by Palaestrio, who is the clown throughout the play. Leo remarks<sup>14</sup> on this destruction of the illusion by introducing a prologue after the opening scene. He compares this play and the *Cistellaria*, whose prologue is similarly introduced after the beginning, to the exposition in the *Knights*, *Wasps*, *Peace* and *Birds* of the old comedy. Palaestrio perpetrates one joke<sup>15</sup> in his prologue, and since jesting is a common habit of the Prologi of the new comedy, it seems not improper to consider them as βωμολόχοι, even when they are not characters in the play as here; for the clown gave the prologue in Aristophanes, and sometimes had little more to do with the play. Many of the witticisms, however, were introduced in the Latin version, and by other writers than Plautus.<sup>16</sup> The exposition of the *Miles* ends with the prologue, the action beginning immediately.<sup>17</sup>

In the *Amphitruo* we have again a slave (for Mercury's part is in the slave's manner) giving the prologue. He also indulges in jests, and in l. 41 (ut alios in tragoediis vidi, etc.) reminds us of his predecessor Xanthias, *Ran.* 1: εἶπω τι τῶν εἰωθότων, ᾧ δέεσποτα; to which, however, the closest parallel is *Merc.* 3:

Non ego item facio ut alios in comoediis  
vi vidi amoris facere.<sup>18</sup>

Traces of the formal prologue of one of the plays from which the *Amphitruo* is derived are found throughout the play<sup>19</sup> in the

<sup>13</sup> Ll. 374, 375.

<sup>14</sup> Plaut. Forsch. p. 194.

<sup>15</sup> Ll. 93 f.:

itaque hic meretrices, labiis dum ducant eum,  
maiorem partem videas valgis saviis.

<sup>16</sup> Leo, Plaut. Forsch. p. 201.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 194.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 195.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 202.

monologues of the gods, Mercury and Jupiter. The opening scene which follows, in which Mercury plays off the bewildered Sosia, is entirely clownish in its character, but is really the beginning of the action rather than part of the exposition.

Parasites introduce the expositions of the *Captivi* and *Menaechmi*. The genial Ergasilus appears at the beginning of the *Captivi* giving a monologue to which Plautus has added a Latin pun in the name *Scortum* and the comment thereon.<sup>20</sup> The complaint of the scarcity of invitations is in the parasite's style, and serves at the same time to indicate the generosity of his captured patron. In the following scene between Ergasilus and Hegio, father and parasite help the exposition 'mit ihrer belustigend gegensätzlichen Auffassung des Unglückes.'<sup>21</sup> Here both persons indulge in buffoonery; Ergasilus interpolates some puns as a professional service, and does not shrink from the indecent. He is impudent to his patron, as slaves are to their masters.

The opening monologue of *Peniculus*, in the *Menaechmi*, is similar to Ergasilus' speech in the *Captivi*, especially in the first two lines, and gives us little information. The following scene with *Menaechmus*, however, discloses the situation in *Menaechmus*'s household, and *Peniculus* acts as commentator on the dialogue of *Menaechmus* and *Erotium*, like *Milphio* of the *Poenulus* and *Palinurus* of the *Curculio*.

Finally, we may mention the opening of the *Trinummus* as an example of *βωμολοχία*, for here the two old men, who are serious enough through most of the play, rally each other about their wives, *Callicles* giving a sinister turn to his speech to his wife, in an 'aside'.<sup>22</sup> This humorous commentary on wives reappears in old *Charmides*' speech in the closing scene.

We have seen, then, that in the later comedy as well as in *Aristophanes* the clown renders conspicuous service in the exposition; and the fact that the slave clown appears in the expositions of both increases the resemblance between the two divisions of comedy.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 195.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 185.

<sup>22</sup> Ll. 40 ff.:

uxor, venerare ut nobis haec habitatio  
bona fausta felix fortunataque evenat—  
teque ut quam primum possim videam emortuam.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE CLOWN IN THE MIME.

Since the material available for a study of the clown in the mime has been put before us by Reich, I have simply used his work<sup>1</sup> for this chapter, not referring to Athenaeus and other authorities. I do not include under the mime, however, all those non-dramatic works which, according to Reich, belong to this variety of literature, such as the idyls of Theocritus<sup>2</sup> and the dialogues of Plato<sup>3</sup> and Lucian.<sup>4</sup> For our purpose it is better to treat dialogues and similar productions separately, in so far as we include them at all in this study.

The mime's career is traced by Reich through a period of two thousand years, from 500 B. C. to 1500 A. D.<sup>5</sup> The great ascendancy of this drama begins with the Alexandrian epoch, and was largely due, according to Reich, to the interest aroused in it by Aristotle and the Peripatetics,<sup>6</sup> who endorsed the mime as a legitimate form of art. By the beginning of the Christian era the great mimic *hypothesis* was in full flower,<sup>7</sup> and in later times the mime was considered as the successor of comedy by Marcus Aurelius<sup>8</sup> and by Choricus, a sophist who lived in Gaza at the beginning of the sixth century, and who wrote a treatise in defense of the mime

<sup>1</sup> Der Mimos. Ein Litterar-Entwicklungsgeschichtlicher Versuch. Von Hermann Reich. Vol. I, Berlin, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> E. g., p. 550, where he speaks of Theocritus' mimes, here with Wilamowitz' authority.

<sup>3</sup> Chap. V, part IV, pp. 388 ff., Das Mimische Element bei Plato.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., p. 266, where he alludes to the fifth Dialogue of the Harlots as 'der fünfte Hetärenmimos Lukians.' 'Mimic' seems to be equivalent to 'realistic' with Reich, who sees the mime's traces in all realistic literature.

<sup>5</sup> P. 193.

<sup>6</sup> Chap. III, pp. 231 ff.: Des Aristoteles und der Peripatetiker mimische Studien und mimische Theorie. Chap. IV, pp. 296 ff.: Wirkungen und Beziehungen der aristotelisch-peripatetischen Theorie des Mimos.

<sup>7</sup> Reich, Der Mimos, chap. VI: Die Entwicklung der mimischen Hypothese vor und nach Philistion. Philistion, the classic of the "hypothesis," flourished at the beginning of the Christian era, and was the first to write out his mimes in complete form (p. 556).

<sup>8</sup> Marcus Aurelius, XI, 6. Reich, p. 56.

against its detractors among the Christian clergy.<sup>9</sup> Concerning the chief personages and the themes of this great popular drama, which flourished long after tragedy and classic comedy had passed into history, we have enough information to enable us to define the clown's character and function, which were very important.

The fool (*μωρός*, stupidus) was a stock character in the mime. The most common theme handled by the mimic poet was the betrayal of a husband by an unfaithful wife. In plays dealing with this subject, the fool, as *μίμος δεύτερος*, took the part of the adulterer and received a beating at the hands of the betrayed husband, who had the leading part. The stupidus was the real hero, although his was the second part.<sup>10</sup> During the days of the persecutions of the Christians, when Christian conversions and martyrdoms were travestied on the mimic stage, and the rites of Christian worship were parodied, the fool took the part of the convert and was baptized, convicted and crucified.<sup>11</sup>

Here the question arises: Which of these two characters shall we call the clown, the adulterer or the husband? For the husband, as *derisor*, belabors the stupidus with blows, as the clowns in Aristophanes belabored their discomfited opponents; yet the fool was undoubtedly the chief comic character and the source of most of the merriment. Now a character may be a prime cause of amusement to the audience without being a clown; e. g., the *ἀλαζόνες* of the new comedy, who were genuine stupidi, but without any saving touch of humor to make the audience laugh with them, as well as at them. The stupidi of the mime, however, seem to have as good a claim to the title of clown as the stupidi of Aristophanes, e. g., Strepsiades. Indeed, the fool of the Christian travesty, who suffers an attack of epilepsy, rolls about the stage in a manner that reminds us very much of Strepsiades' antics in the presence of Socrates;<sup>12</sup> and we have Cicero's word for it that the mime's folly often contained a kernel of wisdom; he was a 'wise fool', like his successor in Shakespeare.<sup>13</sup> Many of the fools of the mime, therefore, could probably be classed with those clowns of the old comedy

<sup>9</sup> Reich, *Der Mimos*, chap. II, part VIII, pp. 204 ff.: Choricus' Verteidigung der Mimen und des Mimos. Cf. especially p. 220.

<sup>10</sup> Reich, *Der Mimos*, p. 93.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Reich, *Der Mimos*, p. 94.

<sup>13</sup> Cicero, *De Orat.* II 274. Reich, *Der Mimos*, p. 63.

whose stupidity is their own secret; we cannot tell whether it is real or affected. We must remember, also, that the modern clown is the direct descendant of the fool in the mime; for the buffoonery of modern comedy and farce is derived from the Italian *commedia dell' arte*, the child of the Roman mime and grandchild of the Greek.<sup>14</sup>

Among the humorous anecdotes, however, which are collected in the 'Philogelos' of Hierocles and Philagrius, and whose ultimate source, Reich<sup>15</sup> conjectures, is Philistion, the great mimic poet,—among these anecdotes are some which, if enacted on the stage as they are related in the Philogelos, without any droll antics of the fool as embellishment, prohibit us from granting their hero the title of clown. So the 'scholasticus',<sup>16</sup> who, being advised by his father to kill his natural child, replies: 'Bury your own children first, and then advise me to kill mine.' This is a plain, ordinary fool, not a clown.<sup>17</sup> But, on the other hand, some of the anecdotes are well adapted to bring out the talent of a gifted clown. Reich describes the pantomime that would probably have been enacted by the clown of jest No. 19 of the Philogelos. A 'scholasticus' sees a flock of sparrows sitting on a tree. He spreads out his cloak, shakes the tree, and waits to catch the sparrows.<sup>18</sup>

Besides the fool, we have already noted that the *derisor* resembles Aristophanes' clown, inasmuch as he cudgels the debaucher of his wife. His lines may well have been adapted to the clown's character. Then we have an instance, in the Philogelos, of a slave who takes the part of *irrisor* and *ioculator*, and plays off the stupidus, his master, who is here an *ἀλαζών*, as in comedy. 'How is the live-stock?' asks the master of his slave, who has just returned from the country. 'One of the sheep is asleep, the other is grazing', answers the good and truthful servant.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Reich, *Der Mimus*, p. 332, where he derives: Molière < *commedia dell' arte* < *atellana* and mime.

<sup>15</sup> Reich, *Der Mimus*, chap. VI, part V, pp. 454 ff.: Philistions Philogelos.

<sup>16</sup> The 'scholasticus', the most frequent type of fool in these anecdotes, is a learned stupidus, a drone who spends his life in study, but lacks ordinary common sense. He is the prototype of the Italian 'dottore'; cf. Reich, p. 471. Socrates, in the *Clouds*, as the earliest extant specimen of 'doctus', may perhaps be regarded as the prototype of the mimic 'scholasticus.' Cf. Süss, *De personarum antiquae comoediae Atticae usu atque origine*. chap. I, *Alazon Doctus*.

<sup>17</sup> Philogelos, no. 57. Reich, *Der Mimus*, p. 462.

<sup>18</sup> P. 467.



The slave as clown is a familiar figure in both the old and the new comedy. He accompanies the lover, the *stupidus* adulterer, in the mime.<sup>19</sup> We have also the testimony of Festus and St. Jerome that the parasite had a prominent place on the mimic stage.<sup>20</sup> His part was evidently assigned to the stupidus, for Cyprian calls the fools parasites.<sup>21</sup>

In its greater realism the mime resembles the new comedy more than the old, and Reich sees the influence of the mime, through Theophrastus, in Menander.<sup>22</sup> But the extravagance and exaggeration of the buffoonery in the mime put its clown, in general, more in a class with the clowns of Aristophanes than with the slaves and parasites of the new comedy, who seem entirely within the limits of probability.

Other points of similarity between the old comedy and the mime are the freedom of speech enjoyed by both,<sup>23</sup> their travesty of mythology and the gods,<sup>24</sup> their habit of addressing the audience directly,<sup>25</sup> the fantastic and fabulous element in both,<sup>26</sup> the blows dealt out so freely by the clown of Aristophanes and the *derisor* of the mime,<sup>27</sup> and their extravagant and boisterous mirth. As to this last trait, Reich<sup>28</sup> thinks that the influence of the mime, at that time an inferior form of art, was felt by Aristophanes, who inserted the loose and disconnected scenes in the latter part of his plays in imitation of the mime, to suit the popular taste. But Aristophanes' genius has its most brilliant triumphs in these hilarious epilogues, and the truth probably is that they were an integral part of comedy, adopted, at some period in its development, from the mime, and not sops added by the poet to please the public.<sup>28a</sup>

The character of the old comedy who usurped the rôle of the chorus and harangued the public was the clown, probably because

<sup>19</sup> Reich, *Der Mimus*, p. 90.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 566.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>22</sup> Pp. 329 f.

<sup>23</sup> Reich, *Der Mimus*, pp. 182, 190.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 495.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378. The Latin name for one of the characters in the mime was "*alopus* = qui propter mercedem *alopus* patitur." Reich, p. 448 n.

<sup>28</sup> Pp. 313 f.

<sup>28a</sup> See Capps' lecture on Greek Comedy, pp. 130 ff., in the Columbia Lectures on Greek Literature.

the clown in comedy antedated the introduction of the chorus; and doubtless either *irrisor* or *stupidus*, as one of the two most prominent characters, performed this function in the mime, which had no chorus. The mime followed the old comedy in a new field in its travesty of the Christian religion and parody of Christian rites.<sup>29</sup> As to the cudgeling, it is noticeable that in the mime the chief clown, the *stupidus*, receives the blows, instead of dealing them out, as in Aristophanes. In Phaedrus (V, 3) a bald-headed man cuffs himself in an effort to swat a troublesome fly. Reich believes that this and other fables were taken from the mimic stage; if so, we have our clown in the mime cuffing himself in addition to the punishment he receives from the *derisor*.

We have met the bald-headed clown before, in the person of the parasite of the new comedy. The fool was regularly bald in the mime.<sup>30</sup> The name of the fool in a Christian travesty, Gelasinus, reminds one of the parasite Gelasimus in the *Stichus*.<sup>31</sup> Gluttony was a prominent trait of the mimic clown, as of clowns in comedy, and was inherited from the mime by the Italian Harlequin, who devoured marvelously long macaroni. Ardalio, a character taken from Roman life, but appearing in the Greek mimes of Philistion, who wrote in Rome, was a glutton and sot; and Maccus, the name of the clown in the *atellana*, means glutton.<sup>32</sup>

Heracles, one of the mythological figures represented on the mimic stage, was familiar to the spectators of the satyr play as a fool and glutton. Thersites and Odysseus also appeared in both satyr play and mime.<sup>33</sup>

The humor of the mime resembles that of comedy in two striking particulars. Cicero informs us that one of the mimic jokes consisted in the literal and wrong acceptance of terms.<sup>34</sup> This form of humor, as has been noted, occupied a prominent place in the old comedy clown's category of jests, and is also present in the new comedy. Cicero, though a Roman, was undoubtedly familiar with the Greek mime, and moreover the Latin mime was its descendant, and probably used the same forms of wit. Again, Reich calls our

<sup>29</sup> Reich, *Der Mimus*, p. 192.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 457, 504 f., 578, 582.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 82 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 445 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 239 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

attention to the resemblance between the perplexity of Sosia of the *Amphitruo*, who loses his confidence in his own identity by reason of Mercury's disguise, and the similar confusion of a 'scholasticus' in an anecdote of the *Philogelos*.<sup>35</sup> A 'scholasticus', a bald-headed man and a barber are travelling together. Night comes on, no shelter is at hand, and they agree that each shall watch for four hours while the others sleep. The barber's turn comes first, and for a practical joke he shaves the head of the 'scholasticus'. The 'scholasticus's' turn comes next; roused by the barber, and still only half awake, he scratches his head, notices that he is bald, and exclaims: 'That wretch of a barber has wakened the bald-headed man instead of me!'

Dividing the characters of the mime, as Reich does, into *εὐτράπελοι*, *irrisores*, and *μωροί*, *stupidi*, we may say, in conclusion, that the *stupidus* is the typical clown of the mime, but sometimes fails of being a clown at all, and is a mere fool or *ἀλαζών*; the *irrisor* is sometimes a clown, and plays off and cudgels the *stupidus*. And our old friends, the slave and the parasite, appear rather prominently in the mime. Furthermore, the *stupidus* of the mime 'acts the fool' more than the clown of the new comedy, and perhaps even more than Aristophanes' clown. In this respect he resembles the clown of modern times, whose prototype he is.

We have referred to the satyr play, in which the clown was prominent, and which should be given a brief mention here. Dieterich has discussed the clown's part in these plays,<sup>36</sup> and from him I take my account of them, as I took my study of the mime from Reich. In an existing specimen, the *Cyclops*, *Silenus* is the clown. Like the clown of Aristophanes, he plays off another, the *Cyclops*, not as *stupidus*, however; the *Cyclops* himself is here a drunken *stupidus*.<sup>36a</sup>

The *βωμολοχία* of the *Cyclops* is similar to that of the old comedy, the contemporary of the satyr play. The chorus of satyrs, who are clowns as well as their father *Silenus*, give a sentence an

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 457.

<sup>36</sup> In his monograph, *Pulcinella*.

<sup>36a</sup> In the recently discovered fragments of the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles there is no typical *βωμολοχία*, but the clown's part, if there was one in the play, doubtless belonged to *Silenus*, as in the *Cyclops*. The fragments of the satyr play by an unknown author, Ox. Pap. VIII, No. 1083, are too scanty to furnish evidence on this subject.



ending καθ' ὑπόνοιαν; inveighing against the wickedness of Helen, they add (ll. 186 f.):

μηδαμοῦ γένος ποτὲ  
φῦναι γυναικῶν ὄφελ', εἰ μὴ 'μοὶ μόνω.<sup>37</sup>

Silenus interrupts the conversation of the Cyclops and Odysseus with a ridiculous comment on the power of Odysseus's tongue (ll. 313 ff.):

περαινέσαι σοι βούλομαι· τῶν γὰρ κρεῶν  
μηδὲν λίπης τοῦδ'· ἦν δὲ τὴν γλῶσσαν δάκῃς,  
κομφὸς γενήσῃ καὶ λαλίστατος, Κύκλωψ.<sup>38</sup>

And when he is accused by the Cyclops of surreptitious guzzling, his retort is characteristic of the βωμολόχος (ll. 552 f.):

Κυ. οὔτος, τί δρᾷς; τὸν οἶνον ἐκπίνεις λάθρα;  
Σει. οὐκ, ἀλλ' ἔμ' οὔτος ἔκυσεν, ὅτι καλὸν βλέπω.

Another play, the *Alcestis*, comes down to us as the fourth of a tetralogy, thus occupying the place usually allotted to a satyr drama. As Dieterich remarks,<sup>39</sup> we may suppose either that Euripides reduced the comic element to a minimum in this play, or else that he hastily adapted a nearly finished play to serve as a satyr play. At any rate, Heracles is here largely a comic figure, and he was a stock clown in the satyr drama, as is shown by the titles preserved.<sup>40</sup> Fabulous monsters, like the Cyclops, were commonly introduced in these farces, and the theme is often the conflict of Heracles with one of them, such as Busiris or Antaeus.<sup>41</sup> In vase paintings the hero is depicted in various comic situations. A *pot-de-chambre* is often present, this formidable weapon being now in the hands of the enemy, again in Heracles's own possession.<sup>42</sup>

The clown in Aristophanes made frequent references to eating, drinking and lechery, and the glutton type was always popular as clown, as we have noted. So Heracles, notoriously addicted to gratifying his sensual appetites, was a typical buffoon.

<sup>37</sup> Dieterich, *Pulcinella*, p. 60.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *Pulcinella*, p. 69.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65 ff.

Odysseus appeared in some satyr plays as clown, instead of hero as in the Cyclops; and his ancestors Autolycus and Sisyphus were likewise buffoons.<sup>43</sup> In Aeschylus's 'Οστολόγοι (fr. 179) it was evidently Odysseus who had the pot thrown at him.<sup>44</sup> Odysseus and Heracles appear also among the characters of the mime.<sup>45</sup> In Aristophanes we have two glimpses of the latter in the Birds and the Frogs, where he appears as ἀλαζών and glutton.

Another epic character who appeared in satyr plays was Thersites. In Chaeremon's Θερσίτης or 'Αχιλλεύς Θερσιτοκτόνος, he was cuffed to death by Achilles; in this he resembled the *stupidus* of the mine, who suffered similar punishment, though not with such fatal results.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 62. On Odysseus in comic rôles cf. also Kaibel, Kratinos' 'Οδυσεύης und Euripides' Κύκλωψ, Hermes vol. XXX.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>45</sup> Reich, Der Mimos, p. 239.

## CHAPTER VII.

### THE CLOWN OFF THE STAGE.

In compositions of dialogue form, from their resemblance to the drama, the characters of comedy might be expected to reappear. Reich sees the influence of the mime in Plato;<sup>1</sup> but the clown does not seem to be prominent among Plato's characters. Socrates' irony, "mimische Ironie", as Reich calls it, is somewhat in the manner of the clown of comedy, when he appears as half *stupidus*, half *εἴρων*. Socrates' character in Plato, however, is on too high a level to admit of classifying him as a buffoon, though he does pick up his adversaries and turn their speeches to ridicule, like the clown of comedy. It is the character of Aristophanes that supplies the buffoonery in the little drama of the Symposium, and his speech, in its extravagance and frivolous treatment of what the other speakers take seriously, may be classed as *βωμολοχία*. But there is practically nothing in Plato that can be classified according to Süss's categories for the clown's humor in the old comedy. We do find Socrates furnishing a little buffoonery in the Symposium of Xenophon, where he lays claim to beauty on the ground that the most beautiful features are those that best serve the purpose for which they were created, and coyly repulses his admirer's advances. But this playful humor is too refined for genuine clown's buffoonery.

The writer in whom we find real and striking traces of the clown of comedy is Lucian. His dialogues were said in ancient times to be imitations of comedy, especially of Menander,<sup>2</sup> and Timon is conjectured to be an imitation of Antiphanes' comedy of the same title.<sup>3</sup> In the Timon we are reminded of comedy more than once. Timon opens the dialogue with a violent and irreverent attack on Zeus, parodying tragedy, like the clown of comedy, with a string of epithets. He gives a humorous 'aside' to his own speech: *καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα· τότε γὰρ*

<sup>1</sup> Reich, *Der Mimos*, chap. V, part IV, pp. 388 ff.: *Das Mimische Element bei Plato*.

<sup>2</sup> Legrand, *Daos* p. 22; *Scholia in Lucianum* (Rabe, 1906), p. 275.

<sup>3</sup> Legrand, *Daos* p. 377.



αὐτοῖς πολυώνυμος γινόμενος ὑπερείδεις τὸ πίπτου τοῦ μέτρου καὶ ἀναπληροῖς τὸ κεχηγνὸς τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ. Like the clown of Aristophanes, he drives his adversaries from the scene with blows, in this case dealt out with a spade. They are the same tribe of impostors that Euelpides makes sport of in the *Birds*: the parasites Gnathonides and Philiadēs, the lawyer Demeas, the philosopher Thrasycles. Here is an example of the ending καθ' ὑπόνοιαν; he invites Philiadēs to come closer (§ 48): πλὴν ἀλλὰ πρόσσιθι· καὶ σὲ φιλοφρονήσομαι —τῇ δικελλῃ.

Scenes in which philosophers are ridiculed as ἀλαζόνες occur in the *Fisher* and the *Βίων πρᾶσις*, but in both of these there is more than one *derisor*. The *derisores* are persons who take part in the auction and in the fishing, not spectators who offer gratuitous comments.

Menippus and Diogenes, the cynics in the *Dialogues of the Dead* who carry on conversations with various ἀλαζόνες—Trophonius, Alexander, Heracles, Mausolus, Tiresias—and laugh at those who have been stripped of wealth, honor and beauty—Midas, Sardanapalus, Nireus—are too pointedly ironical and too impassioned in their denunciations to be classed with the light-hearted clown of comedy who played off an ἀλαζών.

In the *Zeus ἐλεγχόμενος*, Cyniscus plays off Zeus, who is here a discomfited ἀλαζών. The ἀλαζονεία of Apollo, in the *Zeus Tragoedus*, is mocked by Momus, who interprets the god's bombastic and senseless oracle.

Like the clown of the stage, who parodies tragedy, Menippus answers Philonides in lines from Homer and tragedy (*Μένιππος ἢ Νεκρομαντεία*). Zeus, who is a sort of *stupidus* in Lucian, begins the *Zeus Tragoedus* with pompous iambs, and then, at Momus' suggestion, imitates Demosthenes. The descent into Hades, as described by Menippus (*Νεκρομαντεία*), is a parody of Homer. The conclusion of the decree passed in Hades, repeated by the same Cynic, is a jest: Εἶπε τὴν γνώμην Κρανίων Σκελετιώνος Νεκυσιεὺς φυλῆς Ἀλιβαντίδος—and Timon parodies a similar legislative formula when he adds to his anathema of humanity (§ 44): Εἰσηγήσατο τὸν νόμον Τίμων Ἐχεκρατίδου Κυλλυτεὺς, ἐπεψήφισε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Τίμων ὁ αὐτός. Εἶεν, ταῦτα ἡμῖν δεδόχθω καὶ ἀνδρικῶς ἐμμένωμεν αὐτοῖς. In the *Βίων πρᾶσις*, Diogenes parodies Euripides: Ἡ φρήν σοι ἀλγήσει, ἡ δὲ γλῶσσα ἔσται ἀνάληγτος.

Homer is used for comic effect in the Charon, when Hermes raises Pelion on Ossa with five words (§ 4):

αὐτὰρ ἐπ' Ὀσση

Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον.

Charon's eyesight is sharpened by a similar use of two lines (§ 7), and further on Charon himself, catching the spirit, uses a line in answer to a question, and is praised by Hermes for his effort (§ 14):  
Εὖ γε παρφδεῖς ἤδη, ὦ Χάρων.

Hermes, in this dialogue, is the typical slave of comedy; he fears the punishment impending if he should drop his business and act as Charon's guide (§ 2): Τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα πληγῶν αἴτιον καταστήσεται μοι· ὁρῶ γοῦν ἤδη τὸν μισθὸν τῆς περιηγήσεως οὐκ ἀκόνδυλον παντάπασιν ἡμῖν ἐσόμενον.

An example of the irrelevant commentary employed by the clown in comedy is found in the Βίων πρᾶσις (§ 3). When Pythagoras says that the first step in his course of 'reminding' will be a silence of five years, the purchaser retorts: Ὡρα σοι, ὦ βέλτιστε, τὸν Κροίσου παῖδα παιδεύειν.

Parody of another's speech occurs in the new comedy; in Lucian there is an instance of it in the Κατάπλους, when Micylus the cobbler mocks the lamentations of the shades (§ 20): Νέκροι· Οἷμοι τῶν κτημάτων.—Οἷμοι τῶν ἀγρῶν.—'Οττοτοῖ, τὴν οἰκίαν οἶαν ἀπέλιπον.—'Οσα τάλαντα ὁ κληρονόμος σπαθήσει παραλαβών.—Αἰαῖ, τῶν νεογνῶν μοι παιδίον.—Τίς ἄρα τὰς ἀμπέλους τρυγήσει, ἅς πέρυσιν ἐφυτευσάμην; . . . . . Μίκυλλος· Οἷμοι τῶν καττυμάτων· οἷμοι τῶν κρηπίδων τῶν παλαιῶν· ὁττοτοῖ τῶν σαθρῶν ἵποδημάτων. οὐκέτι ὁ κακοδαίμων ἔωθεν εἰς ἐσπέραν ἄσιτος διαμενῶ, οὐδὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἡμίγυμνος περινοστήσω τοὺς ὀδόντας ὑπὸ τοῦ κρύους συγκροτῶν. Τίς ἄρα μου τὴν σμίλην ἔξει καὶ το κεντητήριον; This is comparable to Cappadox's word-for-word parody of Thera-pontigonus' threat.<sup>4</sup>

Another echo of comedy is heard in the Epistolographi,<sup>5</sup> and in Alciphron our old friend the parasite appears. But here he is a pitiful and complaining creature, the butt instead of the originator of jests; his glory as buffoon of the comic stage has departed.

<sup>4</sup> Cure. 577 ff.; cf. p. 8 of this thesis.

<sup>5</sup> Legrand, Daos pp. 22 ff.



## CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, then, I think it is safe to affirm that I have found the clown forcibly present in all the comic drama of the Greeks outside of Aristophanes: the new comedy, the mime and the satyr play; and there are traces of him in Lucian, who copies the new comedy. A clown as isolated from the action as is the *βαμολόχος* of Aristophanes occurs but rarely in other literature, yet we do find some instances in Latin comedy; and in the mime, though he takes part in the action, his rôle is humorous throughout. The forms of *βαμολοχία* employed by him, especially in the new comedy, are in many cases absolutely identical with those under which Süss has classified the buffoonery of Aristophanes' clown; and in assisting to develop the exposition of the new comedy he follows his predecessor of the earlier drama.





